

—T H E—
CAMPAIGN SPEECH

—O F—

MR. A. H. HOBBS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Republican Meeting, 20th Ward,
BALTIMORE, MD.

NOVEMBER 3, 1879.

—
The Crime of Sectional Consolidation.
—



FELLOW CITIZENS:

The project of Southern consolidation is just now receiving the most emphatic approval and favor of the Democratic orators of Maryland, and they propose to extend it, in an unbroken whole, from the Delaware river to the gulf of Mexico. Believing that no greater calamity could befall this Country than the continuance of this pernicious partisan measure, I propose to bring to your notice what I had the pleasure of saying in a speech delivered by me in August, 1876, in this city. I then said, "In the election of Abraham Lincoln, it was charged that his support was purely *sectional*, and therefore prejudicial to the best interests of the Republic and destructive of the harmonious relations existing between the different sections of the country, prior to that time.

So grave and weighty was this action considered, that it was assigned as one of the causes justifying the attempted withdrawal of the Southern States from the Union. Without stopping to inquire whether the election of Mr. Lincoln was of a *sectional character* or not, or whether it really assumed the prominence which

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was claimed for it, I venture to say it was made the occasion of the most extraordinary action, and, as events have verified, of the most disastrous consequences to the whole country and especially to the Southern States; but suppose certain alarmists were correct in that assumption—was not that state of things brought about by political agitation, fostered and continued for a long series of years by evilly disposed persons, South as well as North, laboring all the while to *consolidate* and *array* one section of the Country against the other. It is a truism not to be gainsayed, that *combinations* on one side beget *unity* and *concert of Action* on the other, and hence, conflict and collision must sooner or later come to pass between the opposing elements. This *agitation* and *counter-agitation* brought upon the Country one of the most desolating wars recorded in the annals of history, the recollection of which is too fresh in our minds to need any particular mention. Since the close of the war the Country has, necessarily, made comparatively slow progress towards repairing the many wrongs committed, and the fearful consequences resulting from the bloody strife. The *spirit of reconciliation*, however, has received a new impulse, and is, I trust, about to consummate the humane work of restoring to this great Country amicable relations between and among every section thereof, and bringing *forty millions* (40,000,000) of *freemen* together in harmonious union, each realizing the fact that he is an *equal* constituent part. The attainment of this great good, the value of which is beyond all human calculation, should, as I am sure it will be, treasured accordingly. Standing thus, on the vantage ground which time and circumstances have vouchsafed unto us, and in view, as it were, of that “consummation so devoutly to be wished,” shall the work of *sectional consolidation* be renewed and section be again arrayed against section? Shall the South, while yet maimed and crippled, and bleeding from the late terrible encounter, be made, for purely partisan ends, to antagonize those who, now in the blessed spirit of christian pacification, tender to the olive branch of peace? Shall the fell spirit which marked the strife of the battle field be transferred to the ballot box? Is the clime of the South, the land of the sun, where nature’s boundless gifts meet the eye at every turn; where the essential cereals spontaneously grow and the richest commercial products rise, as it were, at the bidding of the planters’ will, be made again the scenes of election brawls and deadly encounter? It would seem our Democratic opponents desire to have it so.—This party now claims that all the Southern States, South Carolina alone excepted, will cast the votes “solid” for Democratic candidates, and if so, which is by no means certain, the act will prove fearfully unfortunate and certainly most unwise and impolitic. Can such a course be defended any more than that of the alleged *united* Northern vote given to Mr. Lincoln in 1860? The Country will, in the event indicated, again assume the attitude of section arrayed against section. It is to be hoped, however, that the conservative sense of the true and tried patriots of this fa-

vored land, will prevent the recurrence of the combination of States such as was complained of in 1860."

Should the present hostile temper of the Maryland Democracy continue as heretofore, and infuse its spirit into other communities, I should despair of sectional reconciliation. Their prescriptive conduct towards the Republican party would astonish any one, perhaps, except resident Marylanders. In their estimation, to be a republican is to become the most detestable of mankind and a deserved outcast from civil society.

That venerable and ever to be venerated public benefactor, the lamented JOHNS HOPKINS, whose princely endowments and gracious munificence to our people, will be affectionately remembered and warmly cherished as long as gratitude and admiration hold a place in the minds and hearts of true men, could not have been elected a member of the City Council of Baltimore, nor a road supervisor of his native county of Anne Arundel, under the despotic rule of the Ring Democracy. Such is the deadly poison that attaches, in this latitude, in what was supposed to be Conservative Maryland, to every one who declines to co-operate with or attest his submission to the assumed infallibility of this ruthless Ring power, which has so long stood a reproach to this State. The men thus proscribed, however, are quite good enough to pay taxes, and thereby support voracious bands of continuous office-holders, but, at this point their usefulness and acceptability cease. The burden of Government they must meet and discharge, but the CORRELATIVE of equal fellowship, under the Constitution and laws, is withheld from them in the most insulting manner. This condition of things is simply monstrous and should not be tolerated an hour. This community is sorely afflicted, and writhes and suffers under the baneful influence of political despotism, which has no parallel in any land where the English tongue is spoken. It is "political intolerance," as despotic and malignant as that which afflicted christian martyrdom in the iron age of infidel sway.

Verily, those so-called leaders of Democracy

"Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne."

IT IS THE DUTY OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT ITS CITIZENS
IN THE DUE AND PROPER EXERCISE OF THE BALLOT.

The Democracy affect to entertain great apprehensions of what they are pleased to call "bayonet rule" at or about the polls, but of course, this is all *badinage* and intended purely for the over-credulous and morbid alarmists.

"When the president sent General Sheridan to New Orleans to quell those whom that officer was pleased to call the "banditti," our people, almost without distinction of party, condemned the act as unwarrantable, but who among us now, since the election of November, 1875, and in view of the dark deeds that were perpetrated in this latitude, on the memorable day of election, is prepared to say that the interposition of the General Government was

not demanded and justified by the occasion? There occasionally arises in certain localities, a turbulent state of things which imperatively demands the strong arm of Executive interference to protect the weak against the aggressions of criminal strength and organized power. An occasion occurred here during Mr. Swann's administration as Mayor of Baltimore City, which, it was supposed, called for the interference of Thomas Watkins Ligon, Governor of Maryland, to shield and protect our peaceable citizens in the exercise of the elective franchise on an occasion not altogether dissimilar to that of November, 1875. The *orderly and peace-loving Democrats* of that day thought it highly proper that some barrier of protection should be raised between them and the bludgeons and revolvers of ruffian cut-throats, *hired and paid then* as they are *hired and paid now*, with the aid and connivance of a suborned police force, to drive honest people from the polls and carry the election by fraud and violence. Other cases could be named wherein executive interference would be justifiable.

For instance, a State might be *afflicted* with a venal or weak Governor, in complicity with the disturbing element, or a Governor who, it might be, *usurped* the executive chair and consequently would feel no anxiety about protecting the personal or political rights of those whom he, more than anyone else, had contributed to wrong and outrage.

In such case, I hold that the General Government should intervene, at least in the election of Federal officers, to the end that the citizens' dearest rights of self government should not be trodden down by the *pets and favorites* of misplaced local power. The ALLEGIANCE of the citizens and the PROTECTION of the Government are CORRELATIVE terms. The citizen owes allegiance to the General as well as the State Government, and he has the CHARTERED RIGHT, in certain contingencies, to have and demand the protection of either or both."

These are the sentiments I entertained and expressed in August, 1876, and I believe they are no less applicable now than they were then. The Democratic House of Representatives, in the session of 1876, passed a series of resolutions *by an almost unanimous vote*, touching this subject which I take leave, here, to submit. The sagacious Scott Lord, the crafty member from the Empire State, who, it is said, has the rare capacity to touch the sorest points with sweetest terms," and the sourness in that instance certainly put his rare capacity to the severest test.

In euphuistic terms he preamble thus:

WHEREAS: "The right of suffrage prescribed by the Constitution of the several States is subject to the fifteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which is as follows: Article 15, section 1. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

And, WHEREAS, "The right of suffrage, so prescribed and

regulated, should be faithfully maintained and observed by the United States and the several States and the citizens thereof," and

WHEREAS, "It is asserted that the exercise of the right of suffrage is, in some of the States, notwithstanding the efforts of all good citizens to the contrary, resisted and controlled by fraud, intimidation and violence, so that in such cases the object of the amendment is defeated;" and

WHEREAS: "All citizens, without distinction of race or class or color, are entitled to the protection conferred by such article," therefore,

Be it Resolved by the House of Representatives, "That all attempts by force, fraud, terror, intimidation or otherwise to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage in any State, should meet with certain, condign and effectual punishment, and in any case which has heretofore occurred or that may hereafter occur in which violence or murder has been or shall be committed by one race or class upon the other, the prompt prosecution and punishment of the criminal or criminals in any court having jurisdiction, is imperatively demanded, whether the crime be one punishable by fine or imprisonment, or one demanding the penalty of death."

This deliberate expression of the Democratic House of Representatives unequivocally concedes the *whole question* as to the *right* of the General Government to intervene to *protect* the citizens in the exercise of the right of suffrage. It proclaims that the UNITED STATES shall "MAINTAIN and uphold the due and proper exercise of the inestimable right of independent self-government. No one has gone further; none can reasonably claim more; and let us observe the practical operation of this *salutary principle* of Constitutional law guaranteeing to the citizens of all races, classes or colors that protection which the Government owes, and cannot, in justice, withhold. It will be perceived, that in the intermediate time, between the attempt to repeal the enforcement act and the passage of the preamble and resolutions just referred to, the Democratic House of Representatives executed one of the most remarkable somersaults known to the legislative history of the world.—Had those india rubber gentlemen *stalked* into the House *heels uppermost*, the astonishment could not have been greater or the scene more ludicrous, nor am I prepared to say that the Country would have lost anything by the *substitution of heels for heads*.

It is here to be seen that the House of Representatives in the session of 1876, formally asserted that the right of the ballot "SHOULD BE FAITHFULLY MAINTAINED AND OBSERVED BY THE UNITED STATES AGAINST FORCE, FRAUD, INTIMIDATION" or other attempts to infringe the right of suffrage; thus placing the obligation of the United States on the same footing as the "several States and the citizens thereof." No language could more fully and completely cover the ground of the present disputed question as to the right and duty of the Government to preserve the purity of the ballot box. It is highly probable that Mr. Scott Lord, when he penned this resolution, had in view the extraordinary majorities

reported to have been given Mr. Tilden in November, 1876; that is, Kentucky gave 75,000; Georgia, 75,000; Texas, 75,000; making in all, 225,000 in three States. It was also reported (I quote from the *Baltimore Sun*, November 13th, 1876,) that Mississippi gave Mr. Tilden 45,000 majority and Tennessee 50,000, showing thereby that five of the Southern States gave Mr. Tilden 320,000 majority. Now in view of these startling disclosures, Mr. Scott Lord might well say that *the right of suffrage was "resisted and controlled by force, fraud, intimidation and violence."*

It is "force, fraud, intimidation and violence" we have most reason to apprehend in the ensuing election, and how opportune it would be were it in our power, to invoke, successfully, the Government to "maintain and preserve" our rights in the premises, as Mr. Lord has so well said, should be done. Looking to the past, we may reasonably fear that the high places hitherto honored by GIANT INTELLECTS, will be again, in some cases, at least, USURPED BY PIGMIES.

When the formidable riot, which prevailed here in 1877, and held this city in a state of siege for several days, it will be remembered, I am sure, that our CENTENNIAL Governor made haste to invoke the strong arm of the Federal executive to suppress an insurrection too strong to be overcome by the State authority, and he was, no doubt, greatly comforted on the arrival of the United States troops, which, perhaps, saved this staunch states-rights advocate from being impaled by the infuriated mob. The Governor of West Virginia and the Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania were not slow, in this respect, to follow the example of our *de facto* Governor. It would be well, perhaps, for those worthy gentlemen who profess to have such horror of Federal soldiers to pause and remember those fearful events of 1877, and extract, if they can, wisdom from the occurrence of them.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

Our Democratic opponents let no occasion pass to denounce, in the most interporate language, what they are pleased to call "THE ELECTORAL FRAUD." Now, fellow citizens, permit me to ask you if a business difficulty should arise between two or more gentlemen, and for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment they should agree to refer the matter to the arbitrament of third persons, each party selecting a friend with privilege to choose a third, and submit the cause of complaint to them for final settlement, the contesting parties agreeing, at the same time, to abide by the award of their respective friends. Now it is supposed that the arbitrators, thus indifferently chosen, would return an award in favor of one of the parties, do you not think that *both parties, to this arbitration agreement, should stand by and perform the award without complaint.*

Do you think it would be honorable in the party against whom the award was rendered, to denounce the *tribunal* of his own selection, as having acted dishonestly and thereby perpetrated a

despicable fraud? I think your business sense of what is right between man and man would, at once, prompt you to say that *both parties* to the submission should abide the result without murmur or complaint. Now the supposed case, thus presented to you, is in principle analogous to the Electoral Commission. The act of Congress, creating the Electoral Commission of fifteen persons was passed in January, 1877, and the members thereof were chosen as follows: that is, five from the Senate, five from the House of Representatives and four of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; the Judges were taken, one from the first, third, eighth and ninth circuits respectively, and these four Judges were empowered to select the fifth Associate Justice. Before proceeding to act the Commissioners took and subscribed the following oath of office:

"I, _____, do solemnly swear that I will impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the Commission of which I am a member, and a true judgment give thereon, agreeably to the Constitution and the laws, so help me God."

These fifteen Legislative and Judicial officers constituted "THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION," to whom were submitted "all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral vote." The vote having been counted, it was made the duty of the President of the Senate to announce the same, and this "a mounement should be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States." The right of the defeated candidates to institute proceedings in the Federal Courts was reserved and recognized in this statute. It is well known that Rutherford B. Hayes was declared to be duly elected President of the United States, and William A. Wheeler was, in like manner, declared to be duly elected Vice President of the United States. From the date of this announcement to the present hour the Democratic Representative gentlemen, have in season and out of season, and without regard to time or place, bestowed the most virulent abuse, not only upon their own Commission, but the President and Vice President of the United States have been stigmatized as the fraudulent recipients and occupants of their respective offices.

Now this Commission was a Democratic measure, concurred in and agreed to by a large majority of the Democratic Party in and out of Congress; it was, therefore, a tribunal of their own choice. The *majority* of the Committee was composed of FIVE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND THREE ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. The charge brought against those officials was to-fold. They were accused, and the accusation is repeated daily, of fraudulently finding and adjudging that Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler were duly elected to their respective offices, and thereby committed the hienous crime of perjury, and at the same time more than insinuating that the President and Vice President were participants in the infamous charges preferred and urged with such vindictive zeal. It would be difficult

if not impossible, to find in the whole range of human action a parallel to this inexpressibly mean and dastardly conduct. That men, claiming to be respectable gentlemen, should asperse and vilify an arbitration of *their own selection*, simply because its decision was adverse to them, is almost incredible. It is shocking to every sense of decency and is a reproach to the American people. This scandalous course is no more exempt from condemnation than the gathering of a mob to denounce, criticise, and, if possible, to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

This court of Arbitration was mutually chosen and agreed upon by the parties interested; it was the tribunal of all parties concerned and its judgment was *final and conclusive* on the questions submitted, and it was equally binding and efficacious as against all the world; it closed the consideration of all antecedent facts upon which the judgment was predicated, and is, in legal parlance, *res adjudicata*. Yet, notwithstanding this conceded *finality*, the Democracy of the Country meanly and cowardly assail, without shame or blush, the judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction, a court of their own choice, and seek to reach and bespatter, with the venom of their malignant hate, the BENEFICIARIES, under a proceeding which they lack the courage and the manliness to impeach directly. They had the alternative of appealing to the Federal Courts, but they have prudently refrained from doing so. Some years ago, certain differences arose between the United States and Great Britain and for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment of them an arbitration was mutually agreed upon. This arbitration met at Geneva, Switzerland, and, on investigation had, awarded that England should pay to the United States a very large amount, I think, *fifteen millions of dollars*, (\$15,000,000,) and, at a subsequent time, a similar international conference, on the Fishery question, awarded that the United States should pay to England *five millions of dollars*, (\$5,000,000.) The "Stalwart Englisher" complained not, nor faltered in the payment of the amount so awarded, (\$15,000,000). To have refused the payment of this award would have compelled the instant retirement of the English Ministry and driven it to the shapes of private life, if not to lasting shame and dishonored obscurity. The award in favor of England was met by us, and paid as only honest men could do. Neither the Government at Washington, nor any responsible man in this Country, contemplated, for a moment, *repudiating* the award of \$5,000,000, or of denouncing the arbitrators thereof as guilty of *fraud* in the matter. The money was paid and no honorable man would have it otherwise.

The Electoral Commission was considered, by a large majority of both parties, in Congress, as truly a PEACE MEASURE, and the safest and most practical mode of relieving the Country of the dangerous dilemma into which it had been brought by the heated Presidential contest of 1876.

The determination of the ELECTORAL COMMISSION possesses all the solemnity and sanctity of an INTERNATIONAL TREATY, and should

be supported and upheld as **INVIOLENCE**, and protected everywhere, against the rude assaults of those pernicious demagogues, the worst enemies that infest any country, and the heartless betrayers of the people.

In dealing with the question of fraud, the Democratic orators of Maryland *conveniently* overlook this State and utterly fail to explain, deny or justify the outrages which lay at their own doors. Now it must be borne in mind that the State Government is absolutely under the control of the Democratic party. Every officer under the Governor and Mayor of Baltimore City is a Democrat. The Judiciary is a Democratic unit. The Court of Appeals, the Circuit Courts of the counties, and the Courts of Baltimore City, including the Justices of the Peace, are all in the hands and keeping of the Democratic Party. In Baltimore City, all the Courts are presided over by Democratic Judges. The State's Attorney is a Democrat, the Sheriff is a Democrat, the Grand Jury is Democratic, being chosen by the Sheriff, and the Police Commissioners are all Democratic and *partisan*. There is one other class of persons in Maryland, known as "Officers of Registration." The Governor of this State is empowered to appoint one register for each of the wards of Baltimore City and one for each election district in the counties. It is the *sworn* duty of these officers to register the qualified voters of the State, and this duty is concededly one of transcendent importance and delicate trust and execution. It is supposed that the occupants of such offices should be gentlemen of recognized ability and strict integrity of character, but such is not the case. All of these registers are Democratic of the most pronounced type and per consequence *partisan*, and a large number of them are corrupt and abandoned to the last degree. To be *corrupt, abandoned and partisan*, however, in Maryland, are necessary *ingredients* of character to induce the appointment as register. Every man applying to be registered is required to make oath, among other things, that he has not been "*convicted of bribery or larceny or other infamous crime*," but this idle ceremony is prudently omitted, in the enumerated virtues of official fitness of these registers, and they are thus left free and untrammelled, to fix, with glaring injustice, the fate of thousands of *honest voters* and clothe countless *fraudulent pretenders* with the invaluable right of suffrage. These registers are appointed, it would seem, *for such work*, and they scarcely ever fail to gratify the generous expectations entertained of them. And thus we see what pharisean Democrats are capable of doing whilst affecting to be *virtuous*. It is the *beam of willful, deliberate blindness*, and *not* the mote of accident that closes their visions to the perpetration of the scandalous work of disfranchising their neighbors. Thus, possessed with the whole power of State Government, it would seem there is no reason that should prompt or instigate the committal of frauds on the ballot box. Such, however, is not the case. Maryland is *not*, in fact, Democratic, as is pretended, and therefore fraud and violence are resorted

to, to keep and preserve Democratic ascendancy ; for, if otherwise, the violation of the election laws could only be perpetrated through a spirit of personal deviltry. These people denounce the frauds of the old American Party in the strongest possible terms, and in the same breath express the determination to commit frauds on the ballot box, sufficient to secure the success of their candidates, and this scandalous purpose is announced and proclaimed with all the indifference and *sang froid* fittingly characteristic of the most abandoned free-booter. *It is a wonder that the term Democracy does not, in the moment of its utterance, rot upon their false, their perfidious lips, as the fruit of the Dead Sea turns to ashes.* *Democrats forsooth :* Why, my fellow countrymen, the ruthless, so-called leaders of the Democracy of the present day, bear no more resemblance to the gallant men who followed in the line of Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, the illustrious co-workers and architects of our Country's greatness than the *merest popin jay* does to the proud *eagle*, the emblem of our nationality. Methinks I can see the RING POWER lying prostrate, like some huge monster in the last throes of impending dissolution, offending the eye and befouling the pure air of Heaven with the noxious odor of the decayed carcass. "*Delenda est Carthago,*" which may be practically rendered, *The Ring must be destroyed.*

And now, Fellow Citizens, let me say to you, as Hamilcar swore the infant Hannibal on the altars of his country to bear eternal hostility to the Romans, so I here, to-night, invoke you to wage unremitting war against the Ring power of Maryland till not a vestige is left to signalize its infamous existence ; then, indeed, we will have achieved and REGAINED the priceless heritage of representative self-government, no less imposing than a SECOND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, and far surpassing, in moral grandeur, our National deliverance of 1776. The patriots of that day, it must be remembered, struggled, with all the ardour of men determined to be free, against the invasion of a foreign enemy, but we are now compelled, in defence of our blood-bought personal rights, to resist the hostile encroachment of a DOMESTIC, AN UNNATURAL FOE, GOADED ON BY PARTISAN MALIGNITY AND INSATIATE GREED. This enemy is, in a word, the BOURBON DEMOCRACY, flanked and supported by despicable corps of subsidized political Hessians, the very name of which is revolting to the sense and decency of every honest gentleman.

In any event, wherein the personal or political rights of our countrymen are or may be menaced or encroached upon, I would have this, my native State, steadily to the front, her " banner full high advanced," holding, as she ever has done, the post of danger, baptized and consecrated by heroic deeds as the post of honor.

And now, Fellow Citizens, give me your countenance and favor in a few words of affectionate greeting to Maryland.— Maryland, the birth place of religious freedom and toleration, may her future be, not only prosperous and happy, but may it prove to be the beautiful counterpart of her past historic renown.

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